

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3238

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: NATO DECLARATION: DISCUSSION WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR
ON JUNE 8

REF: A. USNATO 3197 B. USNATO 3230

BEGIN SUMMARY. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE ROSE REQUESTED AND CALLED ON RUMSFELD MORNING OF JUNE 8. FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, ACCORDING TO DE ROSE, HAD REVIEWED IN DETAIL TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 11 OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT WITH A FEW AMENDMENTS. FOLLOWING LENGTHY DISCUSSION, RUMSFELD AND DE ROSE AGREED TO ECOMMEND A MODIFIED TEXT OF THIS PARAGRAPH TO WASHINGTON AND PARIS. WE CONSULTED UK DELEGATION'S AND DCM LOGAN'S REACTION TO PROPOSED REVISED PARAGRAPH IS FAVORABLE. REQUEST GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR NAC MEETING MONDAY, JUNE 10. END SUMMARY.

1. AS FORESHADOWED IN REFTEL B, AMBASSADOR DE ROSE CALLED ON RUMSFELD ON SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 8, TO REPORT THE RESULTS OF HIS CONVERSATIONS IN PARIS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES. DE ROSE REPORTED THAT HE FOUND THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETING WORK ON THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION

AND WAS QUITE PLEASED WITH THE TEXT AS IT HAD DEVELOPED. HE DID NOT WISH TO STAND IN THE WAY OF FURTHER PROGRESS IN REACHING COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT. DE ROSE SAID THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED
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THE TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE DECLARATION (SEE REFTEL A) IN DETAIL WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THAT FRANCE COULD NOW ACCEPT THAT PARAGRAPH WITH A FEW SMALL CHANGES.

2. THE FIRST AMENDMENT WOULD APPEAR IN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 11 WHERE THE FRENCH WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE THE WORDS "RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR INTERESTS CAN BE ETC." TO "RECOGNIZING THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE ETC." OTHERWISE, THE FRENCH COULD ACCEPT THE SECOND SENTENCE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO "EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD."

3. DE ROSE REPORTED THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD FELT THAT THE THIRD SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPH APPEARED IN THE WRONG PLACE IN THE TEXT. THAT SENTENCE, WHICH SPOKE OF "HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS" SHOULD MORE LOGICALLY APPEAR AS THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 11, JUST BEFORE THE SENTENCE WHICH SPEAKS OF ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC COOPERATION. THE FRENCH HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE CONTENT OF THE THIRD SENTENCE, DE ROSE STRESSED, AND THEIR SUGGESTION WAS PURELY TO IMPROVE THE SEQUENCE OF THOUGHTS.

4. RUMSFELD RESPONDED TO THESE TWO SUGGESTIONS FAVORABLY AND SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT THESE PROPOSALS TO WASHINGTON. HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO OF COURSE, DISCUSS THE FRENCH SUGGESTIONS WITH THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

5. THE MAIN PART OF THE DISCUSSION HAD TO DO WITH THE THIRD FRENCH AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 11. DE ROSE SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES COULD ACCEPT THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 11 AS IT APPEARED IN THE TEXT (REFTEL A) BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS UNEASY ABOUT THE MANDATORY CHARACTER OF THE COMMITMENT TO CONSULT. SAUVAGNARGUES FELT THAT AN ELEMENT OF JUDGEMENT SHOULD BE BUILT INTO THE SENTENCE SO THAT GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT BE COMMITTED TO CONSULT ON EACH AND EVERY SUBJECT REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONAL JUDGEMENT AS TO WHETHER SUCH CONSULTATION WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. THEREFORE THE FRENCH WISHED TO INSERT THE WORDS "WHEN THEY DEEM IT NECESSARY" JUST AFTER THE WORDS "THEY WILL" IN THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE. DE ROSE SAID THIS WAS SAUVAGNARGUES' SUGGESTION AND THAT IF THE U.S. COULD ACCEPT IT, THE FRENCH COULD ACCEPT ALL THE REST OF THE SENTENCE.

6. RUMSFELD SAID THAT THIS AMENDMENT DID NOT APPEAL TO HIM. IT SEEMED TO INJECT A GRUDGING ELEMENT, THE TONE WAS NOT POSITIVE,
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AND IT SEEMED TO REDUCE THE OTHERWISE POSITIVE THRUST OF THE PARAGRAPH. THE WORDS "WHEN", "DEEM", AND "NECESSARY" IN THE AMENDMENT ALL WERE OBJECTIONABLE IN TONE IN THAT IN ENGLISH THEY LEFT A LESS THAN POSITIVE TONE. DE ROSE ARGUED THAT SAUVAGNARGUES WOULD NEED THIS CLAUSE TO DEFEND HIMSELF AGAINST CHARGES OF SELLING OUT FRENCH NATIONAL INTERESTS. THE GAULLISTS IN FRANCE WOULD SAY THAT AS SOON AS THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAD COME TO POWER THEY HAD IMMEDIATELY TAKEN STEPS TO CHANGE THE BASIC TENET OF FRENCH NATIONAL POLICY.

7. RUMSFELD SUGGESTED THAT IF SAUVAGNARGUES WANTED TO BUILD IN AN ELEMENT OF NATIONAL JUDGEMENT ABOUT CONSULTATION, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ADD THE WORDS "THEIR APPRECIATION OF" JUST AFTER

THE WORD "ACCORDING TO". AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION IN WHICH DE ROSE APPEARED CLOSE TO ACCEPTING THES FORMULA, DE ROSE FINALLY DECIDED THAT HTIS AMENDMENT WOULD PROBABLY NOT SATISFY PARIS. RUMSFELD THEN SUGGESTED THAT THE LAST PHRASE ("ACCORDING TO THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR RELATIONS") MIGHT BE MOVED TO AN EARLIER POINT IN THE SENTENCE. IT MIGHT BE INSERTED JUST AFTER THE WORDS "THEY SHARE". AFTER SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION, DE ROSE THOUGHT THAT THIS WAS A REASONABLE SOLUTION AND UNDERTOOK TO REPORT IT TO PARIS.

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8. RUMSFELD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HIS SUGGESTIONS WERE, OF COURSE, PERSONAL BUT THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON GAVE FACORABLE CONSIDERATION TO THE PARAGRAPH AS IT HAD EMERGED FROM THE DISCUSSION. RUMSFELD ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD SPEAK WITH THE BRITISH DELEGATION BEFORE RECOMMENDING AN AMENDED TEXT TO WASHINGTON.

9. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH DE ROSE, THE MISSION DISCUSSED WIHT UK DEL (LOGAN) THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS IN PARAGRAPH 11 AND RE-COUNTED THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH RUMSFELD HAD HAD WITH DE ROSE EARLIER IN THE MORNING. LOGAN SAW NO DIFFICULTIES IN ANY OF THE AMENDMENTS AND SAID THAT HE WAS FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY THE COMPROMISE THAT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT. INDEED, HE THOUGHT THAT THE CHANGE THAT HAD BEEN MADE IN THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE WAS AN IMPROVEMENT BECAUSE HE FELT THE PHRASE "ACCORDING TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR RELATIONS" WAS OBSCURE UNLESS IT INCLUDED ANOTHER ELEMENT. HE THOUGHT THE SENTENCE AS RUMSFELD AND DE ROSE HAD WORKED IT OUT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IN LONDON AND WOULD PROBABLY BE SEEN AS A TEXTUAL IMPROVEMENT.

10. IN THE COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION, LOGAN REPORTED THAT LONDON HAD "EXPLODED" WHEN IT HAD HEARD THE REPORT OF DE STAERCKE'S COMMENTS ON CALLAGHAN'S PROPOSAL FOR PARAGRAPH 9, (USNATO 3188) LOGAN SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD TALKED TO DE STAERCKE DURING THE EVENING OF JUNE 7 AND THAT DE STAERCKE WAS DISCUSSING POSSIBLE COMPROMISES. LOGAN THOUGHT THAT THE EC MINISTERS MIGHT BE ABLE

TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON PARAGRAPH 9 ON MONDAY, JUNE 10.

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11. FOLLOWING IS THE COMPLETE TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 11 AS IT WOULD BE AMENDED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOREGOING DISCUSSIONS.

QUOTE:

THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST, THUS FOSTERING THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AND FAVOURABLE FOR DETENTE, WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY. THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS, RECOGNIZING THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE

CAN BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. IN THE SPIRIT OF THEIR FRIENDSHIP, BASED ON THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE, AND ACCORDING TO THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR RELATIONS, THEY WILL USE ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS OF CONSULTATION. THEY WISH ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS

SUPPORTED BY HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR ECONOMIC

POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER. UNQUOTE.

12. DE ROSE CALLED RUMSFELD DURING THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 8 TO REPORT THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED THE PROPOSED REVISION WITH PUAUX IN PARIS. THE LATTER WAS NOT FAVORABLE, DE ROSE SAID, BUT THE MATTER WOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO WAS IN BONN. DE ROSE HAD ONE FURTHER THOUGHT ON THE SENTENCE WHICH HE AND RUMSFELD HAD DISCUSSED SO INTENSIVELY, AND THAT WAS TO ADD THE WORD "EQUALITY"

THIS WAS AN ADJECTIVE THAT GISCARD HAD FREQUENTLY USED RECENTLY TO DESCRIBE US-FRENCH RELATIONS AND IT MIGHT HELP TO HAVE THE WORD IN THE TEXT. THERE WAS ALSO ONE EDITORIAL CORRECTION TO THE SENTENCE WHICH DE ROSE THOUGHT WOULD IMPROVE IT. THE PROPOSED SENTENCE, ON WHICH RUMSFELD MADE NO COMMENT, IS AS FOLLOWS: "IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND EQUALITY WHICH CHARACTERIZE THEIR RELATIONSHIPS, ON THE BASIS OF THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE, AND ACCORDING TO THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR RELATIONS, THEY WILL USE ALL APP-

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ROPRIATE MEANS OF CONSULTATION." MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON THIS AS WELL AS ON THE ALTERNATIVE WHICH APPEARS IN PARAGRAPH 11 ABOVE. RUMSFELD.

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